15: U.S. Navy --24 [3]
116, 166, 369, 464, 177.36
636.36

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The industrial centers at Keelung, Shinchiku, Takao and Karenko have attracted many voluntarily. The better paid technical and supervisory personnel are Japanese, but the common labor is Formosan-Chinese drawn from local rural communities. There is evidence that the creation of a number of new air establishments has necessitated the development of servicing communities near them, either at the fields' borders or in nearby villages. The development of a town at Toshien, just north of Takao, is the most important example of a 'war town' on the west coast. Karenko's new industries and the hinterland development of villages on a Japanese pattern and with Japanese names are examples of a more permanent new development."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [10] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 592, 596, 369

"Frequently husbands leave their wives and children under the patriarchal roof in the country while they spend the week in towns at some places of business or trade. The wives and older children help care for the farm. Many city households are dependent upon relatives in the country for much of their foodstuff, and there is constant going back and forth."

15: U.S. Navy--29
116, 361, 369, 177.36
636.36

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Many city or town planning ordinances are in effect in Taiwan. The Japanese have drawn up overall schemes for the modernization of urban life everywhere, but these have gone into effect only in the larger settlements. Hence a sharp contrast is presented between the excellence of some city arrangements and the extreme primitiveness of nearby settlements."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 177, 467, 369

"No contact appears to have existed between peasant and labor groups. Actually they were in conflict with each other on a number of issues. Peasant unions were closely tied up with the Japanese peasant unions, which had a strong Marxist element motivating them. The urban organizations--the Taiwan Minshuto and various trade unions--accepted the principles of Sun Yat-Sen of China, but were not connected with any organization outside of Taiwan."

162 In Formosa, there are 105 males to every 100 females.[9] In 1940 when the population was more permanently settled, the ratio[10] was 102 to 100 females. The many male immigrants who came in after the war probably account for the present sex ratio.

C. Urban and Rural Population

•369 167 Urbanization has increased rapidly in the past few decades. In 1920, four per cent of the population lived in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants; in 1952, the number in such cities had increased to 21 per cent. Economic development in the last years of Japanese control and in the current postwar years, and the influx of Mainland people in the late 1940's and early 1950's, have contributed to growth in urban population. The preponderance of agricultural population has become less pronounced, and the high degree of ethnic and cultural homogeneity has been diminishing.

The majority of young people come to the cities with the hope of finding jobs; immigrants from the Mainland are mostly non-farmers and therefore flock to the cities; and most wives follow their husbands to the cities.

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9. China News Press, Chung-hua Nien-pao, 1954 [China Annual, 1954], Vol. III, Taipei, 1954, p. 78.

10. Provincial Government of Taiwan, Results of the Seventh Population Census of Taiwan, 1940, Taipei, 1953, p. 40.

596 Rural households retain many of the
• 369 features of the traditional family. They are often made up of three or four generations with a goodly sprinkling of kinsmen, adopted children, and others. However, among the one hundred households which were the subjects of a survey conducted by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 58 were termed nuclear families and included 48 per cent of the total population surveyed. The other 42 households were three- and four-generation households, and included the remaining 52 per cent.[10]

562 The influence of the West has greatly
178 improved the position of women in Formosan society. Women today have equal elective franchise and the right of inheritance. They have not only become clerks and manual workers but also have entered the professions and have taken a role in politics. The Chinese Constitution stipulates that the number of women delegates to the National Assembly, as well as the number of women members of the Legislative and Control Yuan, shall be determined by law. The Electoral Law fixes the percentage at ten, and at present there are 60 women of a total

10. A. F. Raper, Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise, Taipei, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1953, p. 208.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

A. The Rural Family

596 369 563 The patriarchal, extended family common to the Mainland is the pattern of the family for the majority of people on Formosa. In rural communities, the father and sons work in the fields, the mother and the wives of married sons look after the hogs, fowl, and cattle and do the work of the household. Daughters care for the younger children, help in the preparation of meals, and wash the clothes. Boys and girls attend school until twelve years' of age; schooling continues after that age only if the child is talented and the family is able to afford tuition and the loss of the child's labor at home. Generally speaking, women of Fukienese descent are not given as many laborious duties as the Hakka women, who raise hogs, cattle, and fowl, and tend vegetable plots even in non-farming communities. Fukien children are more apt to prepare for city jobs than to continue work on the farms.

Since World War II, farm rents have been reduced and farmers are encouraged to farm more intensively in order to secure larger yields. As a result, women now do more farm-work than before. It is reported that women in Chihu are responsible for at least

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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369 40 per cent of the district's agricultural
596 production; in 1937, they accounted for only
563 17 per cent of the total yield.[1]

The aborigines in the mountainous regions of Formosa make a living from slash-and-burn agriculture and hunting. Some of the aboriginal tribes (the Bunun, the Tsou, the Paiwan, and the Yami) follow the patriarchal, extended family pattern. Others (the Atayal and Saisett) have a nuclear family organization -- each member of the family fulfills a definite role fixed by tribal custom. Aborigine women ordinarily do more farm work than Chinese women. Until recently few children from native tribes attended school, and until recently few aborigines ventured outside their tribal regions.

B. The Urban Family

369 The population of Formosa has been
161 increasing rapidly. The rate of increase is greatest in the urban areas. Each of Formosa's four largest cities -- Taipei, Kaoshiung,

1. Arthur F. Raper, Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise, Taipei, 1953, p. 120.

•369 Tainan, and Tiachung -- has more than
161 doubled in size since 1937.[2] The cities of Keelung, Hsinchu, and Hualien have grown almost as rapidly. The rapid increase in urban population is traceable, in part, to the number of young Formosans who have deserted the rural areas for further education and more profitable economic opportunities.

369 The patterns of living of the urban population differ in many ways from those of the rural population. The size of the average household is smaller. The houses themselves are small, overcrowded, and usually contain no more than two generations, parents and children. Crime in urban areas has increased substantially.[3] On the other hand, educational facilities in the cities have improved. The people of Formosa are becoming more aware of the importance of education. Urban families send their children to vocational schools or high schools whenever it is financially possible. During the past fifteen years, the rate of industrial expansion has been rapid, although not rapid enough to provide
000 work for the fast-growing population. The

2. Arthur F. Raper, et. al., Urban and Industrial Taiwan - Crowded and Resourceful, Taipei, 1954, p. 2.

3. The number of urban crimes reported
(continued next page)

369 The
443 scarcity of employment has resulted in the increase in the number of "self-made" jobs, such as the keeping of small, temporary streetside shops and stands, peddling, "household industries" of various kinds, cart-pulling, and pedicab-operating. Marginal self-employment is the chief source of income for approximately one-fifth of the males 15-50 years of age in the seventeen areas surveyed in 1954 by the China Mission of the American Mutual Security Agency and a group from National Taiwan University. A large proportion of those marginally self-employed would shift to regular industrial jobs if such jobs became available.[4]

369 Because of under-employment and the
464 prevailing low wage-scale, women and children often take up various kinds of work in order to supplement family incomes. Many urban households augment their income by raising hogs or fowl. Overcrowding in urban areas, the increase in the number of peddlers, streetside stands, and the feeding of hogs and fowl in crowded districts create a very serious health and sanitation problem.

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3. (continued) today far exceeds the number reported under Japanese rule. See the section on Criminal Codes and Procedures in the chapter on Law and Order.

4. Raper, op. cit., p. 5.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

121 167 179 178 eastern part of the mainland to Taiwan had been going on for several hundred years, beginning in the 1600's and virtually ending about 1900 when it was almost completely stopped by the Japanese regime. Throughout the early period and even after the Japanese occupation and administration of the island, the traditional Chinese culture brought over from southeastern China was maintained with little major change.

648 179 178 During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, except for the period just before and during World War II when they attempted to Japanize the island, the government tried deliberately to inhibit fundamental changes in the Chinese culture.[1] As George Barclay (1954b:52) has pointed out, during most of their occupation it was advantageous to Japanese colonialism to maintain the Chinese social and economic order which already existed in Taiwan. It was by means of the traditional Chinese system, which facilitated the maintenance of social control, that Japan was best able to function as a colonial power and to derive the greatest advantage from this area, which soon became an integral economic part of the Japanese empire. Because of this policy of maintaining and utilizing the existing Chinese social and economic system, the fifty years of Japanese rule had limited direct effect on much of the traditional social life of the Taiwanese. This was especially true of the rural agricultural areas of Taiwan, where direct contact with the Japanese was infrequent and where the Japanese had, therefore, limited influence on the cultural level of life. Some superficial changes—religious forms, for example—were in later years forced on the Taiwanese rural people by the Japanese, but they were quickly dropped when Chinese rule was restored at the end of World War II. Today, unlike the situation in the urban centers of Taiwan where Japanese cultural influence was much stronger and is still evident, only few Japanese-introduced traits can be observed in rural Taiwan, and the people attach little importance to them.

However, during the later years of the Japanese period and especially during most of these past two decades under the Nationalist Chinese, the socioeconomic impact on the whole Taiwanese population has been significant. The combination of relatively efficient government, orderliness of life, and public health measures, together with an extensive system of communications on a relatively small island has greatly facilitated rapid population increase on a stable land base and a rapidly increasing growth of urban centers.

[744] [20] [161] [369]

369 Out of these developments, the most significant changes for the rural population have been the extension of village contacts and involvement with urban centers far beyond the immediate village area, and, with this an increased spread of urban influences or at least their effects into the rural villages. These increasingly significant extensions

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1
People's Republic of China AF18

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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

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In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1
People's Republic of China AF18

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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

T 121

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

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It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1 •

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[3] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1951 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1951). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6.
Formosa AD1

to as such. Taiwanese, also called Min-nan *hua*, is a Fukienese language like Amoy. It is spoken by the majority of the people of Taiwan, and, although it is spoken with different accents, the speakers of the different variants can understand each other. The accents vary according to the place of origin of the speaker's ancestors. Regional differences have developed in Taiwan as well, so that the accent of the coastal area where Hsin Hsing is located differs from the accents of Taichung or the mountains.

Hakka, another Chinese language, is spoken by the Hakka people (*k'o jen*, "guest people") who originated in Kwangtung province on the mainland. Because of the minority position of the Hakka in Taiwan, they have often had to learn Taiwanese, although Min-nan speakers seldom learn Hakka. The Hsin Hsing village area has no Hakka speakers, and there has been little or no reason for the people of the region to learn Hakka. They are, however, well aware of the Hakka people and of the differences between their languages.

Mandarin, the third Chinese language, is now the official language of the government, replacing Japanese. Japanese first became important in Taiwan through the school system developed by the former rulers. In the 1920's the Japanese government began to augment Taiwan's school system, and "by 1945, 70 percent of Taiwanese children of legal school age were attending some sort of school" (Barclay, 1951b:68n). A limited number of Taiwanese children, usually those whose parents had some status, attended a special primary school system set up by the colonial government for the Japanese children on the island. Classes in these schools were conducted in Japanese. Most children, however, attended the public primary schools whose classes were "conducted in the local dialect" although the children "were required to learn to read in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138). All secondary schools and colleges conducted classes "exclusively in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138).

In the rural area some children from wealthy landed families attended school beyond the primary level. Because of their education, they were given official jobs under the Japanese regime and mainly spoke Japanese. Today, these men, like a great many urbanites educated under the Japanese, still speak fluent Japanese. The same men now are working for the Mandarin-speaking Nationalist regime and so usually speak Mandarin. They have rarely had the opportunity to use their native Taiwanese and are often chided for speaking their own language very badly.

Most of the rural people though, who did attend public school, usually did not go beyond the primary school level. Many villagers, and almost all rural women, attended school irregularly or not at all. Among all these villagers then, many learned no more than a few

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localised kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.